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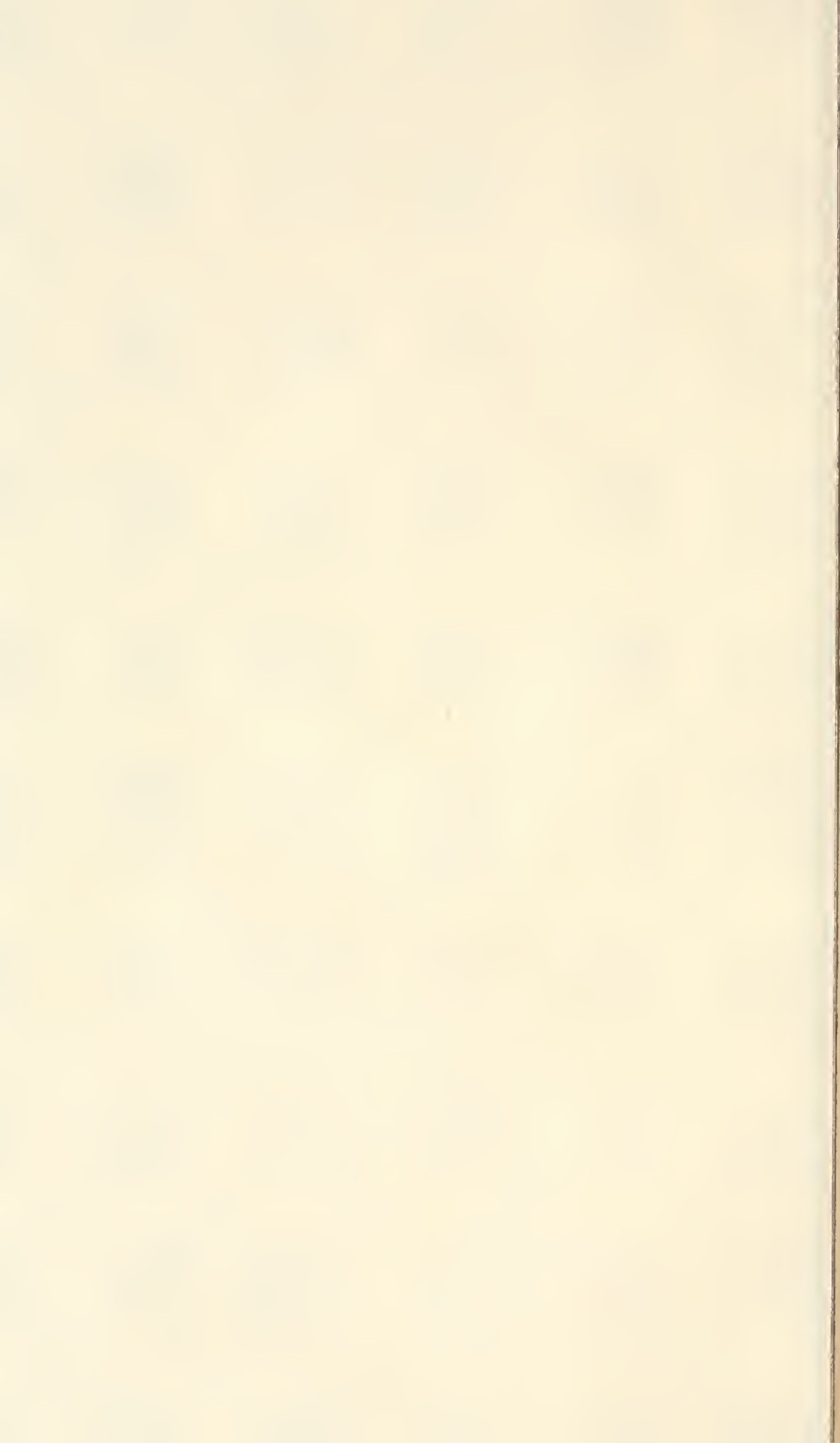


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THE
UNION
OF
THE STATES.

BY

ANNA ELLA CARROLL,
OF MARYLAND,

AUTHOR OF THE "GREAT AMERICAN BATTLE," "STAR OF THE WEST," ETC.

"One in the struggle for mankind ;
One in the strife for equal laws ;
One, only one, in heart and mind,
Forever one in Freedom's cause."



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THE UNION OF THE STATES.

CHAPTER I.

“What God in his mercy and wisdom designed,
And armed with his weapons of thunder,
Not all the earth’s despots and factions combined
Have the power to conquer or sunder !”

AMERICANS, let us see how the first stones were gathered, and the foundation of this Union laid. It began under great tribulation ; but God overruled its origin, and has been its great support.

A reformed church of “poor people,” or those in moderate circumstances, called Puritans, dwelt in England at the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and lived in the villages of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire.

These people, under their pastor, John Robinson, were assailed day and night by the ministers of the ecclesiastical tyranny which governed and swayed England.

At great suffering and peril, they resolved to seek safety by exile, in Holland. In 1607, their first attempt to leave England was arrested, under King James, and some of the Puritans were imprisoned ; but they had an unfrequented heath in Lincolnshire, where they continued to worship ; and, on procuring the release of their wives and children, in 1608, they were successful in making their escape to Amsterdam.

From Amsterdam, these Puritans went to Leyden, under the guidance of Robinson and Brewster, and there betook themselves to industrial pursuits of all kinds, which fitted them for their future but unsuspected destiny. The desire to advance the Gospel in the New World, the cherished idea of their minds, finally induced them to turn their thoughts to the settlements in America. Still, the Pilgrims loved their native soil, their native language, and their Anglo-Saxon liberty ; and so deep was the love of country yet implanted in their affections, that they sought the protection of the English government for the colony they projected in the western world.

John Carver and William Bradford repaired to London, and succeeded, after a negotiation of two

years, in obtaining a patent for the Plymouth Company. After an absence of twelve years from their native land, these exiles made ready for embarking across the ocean. They sold their estates, and used their money in fitting out two vessels for the purpose; but these could accommodate only a part of the congregation.

These Pilgrims sailed from Delfthaven, near Leyden, via Southampton, for America, after being a fortnight in England. But the *Speedwell* proved not to be seaworthy, and they returned to Dartmouth for repairs. Finding, however, that this vessel could not be trusted for such a voyage, they left Dartmouth for Plymouth, where, with one hundred souls, they embarked, on the 17th of September, 1620, for America. Their small vessel, the *Mayflower*, consisted of only one hundred and eighty tons; and after a passage of sixty-three days, it reached the harbor of Cape Cod, and this precious cargo of human souls was landed on the Rock of Plymouth Dec. 22d, 1620.

While the *Mayflower* was at anchor, the form of government to which they should conform, as one people, was seriously discussed; and, after prayer and thanksgiving to almighty God, an instru-

ment or compact was drawn, to which forty-one of the crew subscribed their names ; the rest of the one hundred being the wives and children of these men.

This, Americans, was the first *republic* erected in America, and is the most remarkable instance of the true spirit of liberty upon the record of history. Think of a colony, under the sanction of a royal charter, from an English monarch, coming, under the inspiration of God and liberty, to plant upon American soil republican freedom !

Here is the document :

PLYMOUTH COMPACT.

“In the name of God, amen ! We, whose names are underwritten, the royal subjects of our dread Sovereign, King James, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation ; and, in furtherance of the ends

aforesaid, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the good of the colony.

“Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.”

Signed by John Carver, William Brewster, Edward Winslow, and forty-one in all.

For five thousand years this vast continent lay upon the bosom of the deep, occupied by untutored man, of the manner and the date of whose origin here we have no account ; but a passage is supposed to have been effected across Behring's Straits, where Asia and America are separated by only forty miles. This continent, nearly as large as Europe and Africa united, extending on both sides of the equator, lying between the western shore of Europe and Africa, and the east of Asia, surrounded by groups of islands on either ocean, presented an impenetrable mystery to the eastern world.

Not less remarkable has been the unparalleled development of liberty, growing out of the desire for a retreat for freedom to worship God. The Huguenots of the South came to this land under the

same inspiration, and suffered even more by persecution. Americans, can the conviction that these were the men whose views were carried out in founding this republic now be slighted? We are the only people strong, courageous, and free — the only nation which has the element of durability. When the flag of our country was borne to Mexico, after so long a period of profound peace, it was prophesied by all the world we were to meet an ignominious defeat; but when the first flash was seen, and the first thunder of cannon heard, American men, who had lived only to protect their homes and firesides, rushed to the scene of action, and fought so gloriously and so triumphantly that the world was lost in admiration at their victories. With our little army of eight or ten thousand opposed to eight or ten millions of Mexicans, added to barriers which nature had made seemingly insurmountable, Americans, under the free spirit which formed the republic on the Mayflower, fought like soldiers, and died like freemen!

The same God which had taken the English Pilgrim and set him on Plymouth Rock led the French Huguenot to the South. It was the genius, the heroism, the instinct, of liberty. So have the

North and South, when great principles were at stake, commingled as one spirit and one blood! From the days of '76, to the day Gen. Scott, at the head of the American army, caused Santa Anna to lay down the sword and bow to the supremacy of American arms, the North and the South knew no section, divided no interest, when a common danger perilled our existence as a free people.

In 1792, we were thirteen poor and comparatively feeble states. The whole cotton crop did not exceed three hundred and fifty-seven bales. After Whitney's cotton-gin machine was invented, in 1794, there was an increase in its growth, and in 1795 it amounted to three thousand seven hundred and fifty bales. Now, we are a people counting thirty millions, with thirty-one states, and an expansive territory, out of which many others will ultimately be made. The constitutions of most of the old states have been altered. Vast resources are being developed, and our cotton-bales count annually nearly four millions.

The United States are yet only in their infancy. The growth of their marketable staples, their agricultural resources, and their annual incomes, is beyond all present calculations, as well as the

benefits of commerce and art, which we cannot even conjecture.

Our representative government, our religious freedom, our trial by jury, our free press, and other attributes of Anglo-American liberty, urge this people to extend themselves under peaceful arts, and to cherish perpetually the compact of the Union, as the only bond, the everlasting bond, of our national life, and faith, and action.

Ancient Rome excited glorious patriotism by heaping bright garlands upon her living sons; but her nationality and pride forbade her stopping there. She looked behind, and forgot not the founders of her political edifice. How much more than Romans should we Americans cherish the sacred ashes of our dead, who gave the Union its fair proportions, and taught the lesson of self-denial and conciliation by which it must be preserved!

Josiah Quincy went from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, to enlist the Huguenots with the descendants of the Puritans for our independence, — the descendants of men who were answered in their last prayer, and shown by God the way to this their promised land.

When the Union was endangered for the third time, in 1850, J. C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, discoursed upon this bond of attachment which bound together Massachusetts and Carolina, and declared, with rapture, shortly before he died, that it was as indissoluble as ever.

Webster, too, who first read the constitution on a cotton handkerchief, wanted that constitution to give its rights to all parts of the Union. When warned, in 1850, that his course on the compromise would endanger his hopes for the presidency, the triumph of the Union over selfish ambition showed itself, as he exclaimed, "I would not swerve a hair to be president."

Henry Clay, dear to the hearts of millions, from this same love of the Union, was warned in 1839, in the Senate, by William C. Preston, of South Carolina, against unnecessarily exciting the abolitionists, as it might interfere with the aspirations he then enjoyed for the presidency. The great American's prompt response is above all Greek or Roman fame — "I had rather be right than be president!" The abolitionists became ever after his unrelenting foes, and, in connection with Mr. Buchanan's false charge of bribery, of which Bu-

chanan himself was the sole author, and the Romish hierarchy, defeated his prospects and blighted the hopes of his friends forever.

Americans, for the fourth time our national existence is in peril! Its first danger was under Madison; second, under Jackson; third, under Taylor and Millard Fillmore; and lastly, under Franklin Pierce, our present chief magistrate.

Under the administration of Gen. Taylor, three Southern States of the Union submitted the question to the people whether they should remain in the Union. Officers of the army and navy were then sounded, to see if they would declare for a Southern republic. They declared for the Union as it is, under the American flag. All the Southern States but one did likewise. It was the Roman firmness of Mr. Fillmore, after the death of Taylor, that saved the Union in 1850.

The treaty of peace, which acknowledged our national independence, in 1783, was not only highly honorable to us, but England made far greater concessions to us than she did at that time to Spain or France. In 1785, Congress elected John Adams, by ballot, as the first minister to Great Britain; and on the 25th of May of that year, the King of

England, who had waged war upon us as subjects, and attempted to brow-beat us as menials, was humiliated to a public reception of our national ambassador, who represented the new republic. Keenly did England feel the blow which had forced her, before mankind, to recognize our power and dignity among the nations of the earth. George the Third, the king, received Mr. Adams by a speech, to which Mr. Adams replied. He was afterwards presented to the queen, who also had a kind word to say of "America and Americans." "You are not," said the king to Mr. Adams, "like the most of your countrymen, attached to France." "I have no attachment but to my native country," said Mr. Adams. "An honest man will have no other," said the king. And this was the feeling under which we were baptized a free people.

Messrs. Jay, Adams, and Franklin, were sent to Paris to obtain formal protection to our commerce. But while other European nations entered readily into treaties of commerce, England refused to do so, and during the six years of our confederacy after peace, no minister was sent to America. Mr. Adams, failing to induce Great Britain to

send a minister, or to form a treaty of commerce, returned home in 1787.

After the Union was organized, the strength and dignity of the government were felt by all foreign nations, and respected. Gen. Washington requested Gouverneur Morris, who was in Europe, to see if England would then send a minister; to which she readily acceded, and George Hammond presented his credentials from that court in August, 1791.

The strength and dignity obtained for the government by the Union of the States were at once felt and manifested by foreign powers. In 1793, when France declared war against England, Gen. Washington issued his celebrated proclamation for neutrality, and recommended to Congress that a special messenger be sent to England, to aid Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, already our accredited minister to that court. General Washington determined to save the Union, but just formed; and, in defiance of the unpopularity of this measure, to preserve the policy of neutrality. He therefore immediately nominated John Jay, and hence the treaty which laid the foundation of this Union's

commercial prosperity, and made its basis still more impregnable.

And now, Americans, it is the firmness of the Union, its celebrity, its prosperity, its past happiness, attained under our free and fair constitution, which has struck terror to European despots, and made them tremble on their thrones. This government is the only one upon earth which meets the wants of the masses, and embraces, as far as its limits extend, the entire continent under the shadow of its protecting wings. Under its wise laws and benign policy, nothing can stay our national progress, — nothing, nothing! The bravest, the freest, the most energetic people on the face of the globe, have been born under the flag of the American States.

Look, my countrymen, at the resources of your mighty republic, and see how the Union has developed them! Look at your territory, and see how the Union, in its triumphant march, has expanded its boundaries from a fragment to a continent! Look at your inventive genius, your skilful artists, the busy hum of internal trade, the multiplied products of healthy sinews and free labor, and see how the Union has prospered you! Look at your

sublime mountains, your magnificent rivers, your luxuriant prairies, your vast and beautiful lakes, your exhaustless mines of gold and silver, and your rich and beneficent soil, and see why your population has swelled from two million five hundred thousand to thirty millions, in eighty years !

It is the Union of these States, under the greatest and best form of government human wisdom ever conceived, that has done it all. It is the cup of love and peace, which has been drunk from the fountain of the constitution, by the whole population. The nation, from all points of our compass, have met in the circling bond of the Union, and clasped the pillars of the constitution with united heart and hand ; and, under the inspiration of its proud stars and stripes, have exchanged the grateful and joyful tokens of faith and affection.

What should be the cry of all the inhabitants of this land, but “ The Constitution and the Union forever ! ” With this glow of magnanimity, with this cry of patriotism, traitors and emissaries from without can as easily upturn the ocean from its bed, or tear the pillars of the Alleghany from their deep foundations, as to break up this

government by the dissolution of this blessed, blood-bought, heaven-descended Union.

We know full well the jealousy of foreign despots. To arrest our "manifest destiny," by the destruction of republicanism, is the ceaseless aim of the despotisms of Europe, to favor their own self-preservation. Russia, England, France, Austria, Rome, Spain, and every other monarchical and despotic government, now swell with joy to witness internal dissensions which threaten a severance of the states; but how much more would they exult in its actual occurrence! Philip of Macedon, when he set about conquering Greece, did not invade it by an aggressive army, but by creating and cherishing dissensions among the states of Greece. So it is now with European governments. They feel the moral as well as the political reaction upon them of the United States. They know that the principles upon which the Union is founded are subversive of European aristocracies. They were aware of the sympathy of Americans with the struggling patriots of Greece, — with the struggling patriots of Italy, in the revolution of '48, — and the moral influence which ever reacts in favor of a people panting for free-

dom. They behold, with secret wonder and envy, the rapid growth of the United States in power and greatness.

England — we speak of her government particularly — is jealous of us, because she is monarchical, and moves in the reciprocal sympathies of the other monarchies of Europe. But the great body of her people are strongly opposed to a war with the United States. When we speak of England, therefore, we more particularly speak of her government, which found, in 1812, that no thunder could be obtained by her arms in a contest with the Americans. Her oligarchy try a more quiet course of action, to sow dissension, and reap the benefit of contention, among the states, by favoring any symptoms of disaffection which may spring up to disturb our happy Union. In this unholy antagonism, the press of Europe has heaped its slanders upon us. But its praise or blame neither disturbs our sleep, nor intercepts our influence and onward march.

Our commercial marine, on the high seas, is greater than that of France or England, — perhaps both united; and, in case of danger, our marine and fishermen would supply our navy. England

fears our strength, while she feels our cotton and breadstuffs essential to her very existence. These motives constrain her to jesuitical cautiousness in her attempts to divide the Union, by which she expects to treat with both North and South on her own terms.

Once let England, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, send us representative men, — men of large ideas, who can understand the principles of our political machinery, and faithfully report the progress and development of our country at home, — then the value and the permanence of the Union can be appreciated, and much useless expenditure of money and time may be averted.

But who is it that now cries out, “Join us, to save the Union”? Americans, it is the very party — the democratic party — who have shown the people, by their acts, that they are not competent to administer the government of our country. The Missouri Compromise law, which was framed to give peace and perpetuity to the Union, and the repeal of which was in all respects the most atrocious act ever perpetrated by the representatives of the people, was the achievement of the demo-

cratic party, under an imbecile democratic president.

Americans, the day has come when you must not and will not be deceived by these specious pretences of loving the Union ; and it is idle for that party, which has more than once endangered it, longer to attempt to cheat the people. What are the facts from the records of history ? At the time the government of the United States was formed under the constitution, there was a large tract of land lying north-west of the Ohio River, called, on that account, the North-west Territory ; and, to have all those who participated in the battles of the Revolution possess a common right to it, our fathers passed a law called the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery in all the territory then belonging to the United States. In 1803, we acquired, by a treaty under Mr. Jefferson, another tract of land, known as Louisiana Territory ; and as the Ordinance of '87 had reference only to the North-west Territory exclusively, and not to that which the framers of the constitution never supposed we would possess, agitation at once was created between the North and

South as to the mode of disposing of the slave question on their new territory.

In a little while the State of Missouri was formed out of a part of the Louisiana Territory, and knocked for admission into the Union at the door of Congress. The South, at that time, was in a minority in Congress, and it was therefore in the power of the North to admit Missouri as a slave state, or to reject it, and insist that the law of 1787, which forbade the extension of the institution of slavery into the North-west Territory, should be made also to apply to the Louisiana Territory.

Finally, the *South introduced the famous Missouri Compromise*, and it was passed by Southern votes. It is true a Northern man introduced the measure; but the proposition came from the South, and was supported by the South. The South said to the North, "If you will allow us — you being in the majority, and having the control — if you will permit us to carry slavery up to the line of 36 deg. 30 min., we will pledge ourselves not to attempt to carry slavery beyond 36 deg. 30 min." They said, "We will allow every state south of 36 deg. 30 min., that chooses, to adopt slavery or

reject it, as they please ;” but, if they come to Congress, as Missouri has done, you will make no opposition to their admission on the ground of slavery, whether it is in or out of their constitution.

In the Senate of the United States every senator from the South voted for this Missouri Compromise, but *two*, and every senator from the North voted against it, but *four*. There were then eighteen Northern votes cast in opposition to it, and but two Southern votes ; Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, and Mr. Smith, of South Carolina. When the bill went to the House of Representatives, it passed by one hundred and thirty-four to forty-two votes. Forty Southern representatives went for it, and thirty-seven against it. Mr. Clay, Mr. Lowndes, and others from the South, were the chief advocates of the measure ; and the history of the events of that day demonstrates with what enthusiasm that Compromise of 1820 was received by the whole South. Mr. Monroe was President at that period, and before he signed the law it was submitted to Wm. H. Crawford, J. C. Calhoun, and Wm. Wirt, Southern members of his cabinet, who were unanimous as to its constitutionality.

To this law, then, the integrity and honor of the South was pledged. And now, Americans, mark the conduct of this democratic party! They waited to people all the territory that could be populated by slaves, and then disturbed the peace and prosperity of the country by attempting to take what of right belongs to the North; for Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida, could have all been kept out of the Union, if the North had seen fit.

The Missouri Compromise being applied to the Louisiana Territory, all settled down in peace, until the annexation of Texas. The democratic party, in the mean while, having made a *scare-crow* of a few abolitionists in the North, by introducing a resolution refusing the people their constitutional right of petition, kept alive agitation, as a part of their sacred creed; and by the passage of the "twenty-first rule" they brought thousands and tens of thousands of these petitioners to Congress, insisting upon their right to be heard. The democratic party then became alarmed at the unpopularity of their act, and repealed the twenty-first rule. What was the result? The people became satisfied, when once their own rights were vindicated, and, instead of flooding Congress with these

petitions the succeeding session, it was a rare occurrence to hear that one was presented.

When Texas became a state, the Missouri Compromise line was applied to it by act of Congress, and that matter was thus settled. It passed the House by a vote of one hundred and twenty to ninety-eight, and every Southern democrat in that assembly voted for it.

But not long after this the Mexican war occurred, and California, Utah, and New Mexico, were added to our territory. Oregon had just been organized as a territory, with the ordinance of 1787, which you will bear in mind, Americans, was a prohibition to the extension of slavery, and was signed by Mr. Polk, having as his cabinet adviser *James Buchanan*, of Pennsylvania!

The next thing to be done was to provide for the Territory of California. The Missouri Compromise was then offered in Congress to be applied to it, and every Southern senator voted for it. But, there was other territory acquired from Mexico, which was not included in this legislation, and about which great difficulty was created. Then it was that Mr. Clay, in the decline of life, left his own fireside, to forego all its pleasures in his last

hours, to heal the impending strife by aiding in the passage of the Compromise measures of 1850. And let it not be overlooked that the democrats, who caused the twenty-first rule to be enacted in the House, a short time before, to create agitation and disunion at the North, were the stern opponents of the Compromise of 1850, which saved the Union, and restored harmony to all sections.

At the beginning of the session, subsequent to the Compromise of 1850, Col. Jackson, of Georgia, offered this resolution: — “ *Resolved*, That we recognize the binding efficacy of the compromises of the constitution, and believe it to be the intention of the people generally, as we hereby declare it to be ours individually, to abide such compromises, and to sustain the laws necessary to carry them out, — the provision for the delivery of fugitive slaves and that act of the last Congress for the purpose included, — and we deprecate all further agitation of all questions growing out of that provision, of the questions embraced in the acts of the last Congress known as the Compromise, and of questions generally connected with the institution of slavery, as unnecessary, useless, and dangerous ;” when sixty-four voted against it. The

democratic papers of that day said, " We notice the ultra Southern members from South Carolina voted with the free-soilers." That is, against the acquiescence of the two sections in peace, and a settlement of the slavery question.

Mr. Hillyer, another member of the House, offered, in addition, this resolution : — "*Resolved*, That the series of acts passed during the first session of the Thirty-first Congress, known as the Compromise, are regarded as a final adjustment and a permanent settlement of the question therein embraced, and should be regarded, maintained, and executed, as such ;" which was also opposed by sixty-five votes ! And these from the South were every one democrats, who united with the abolitionists of the North against the very measures, Americans, which had just restored peace to your distracted country.

CHAPTER II.

IN 1852 Pierce obtained the nomination for President by the democratic party, and was elected by fraudulently deceiving the people, and inducing them to believe he was true to the compromises of the Constitution and the Union. The democratic party then got into power by that deception. And what has it done, my countrymen? Why, it has plunged us into civil war; and we should also have been in foreign war, but for the respectable position the British cabinet took when they saw that Franklin Pierce and the democratic leaders were not representing, but personating, the American people. They have introduced an insurrectionary and revolutionary spirit among the masses, that they may hold out the Union flag, after staining it with blood, and call on the people to rally around it for the safety of the Union. Great Heaven, defend us from this serpent rule another four years! Defend this people, O, our nation's God, our people's only

refuge, from James Buchanan's power to perpetuate this shameful democratic rule, which is now shaking the edifice of the Union through an executive instrument who sacrilegiously occupies the chair of state !

Out of ten senators in Congress who voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, thereby unsettling the compromises of 1820 and 1850, seven of that number have gone over to the fortunes of the democratic party, with Atchison, Douglas, and Franklin Pierce, and just where the American people want them to remain. "Pierce suits us well ;" "we know our man," was said with no more truth by Van Buren, in 1852, than it is now said of James Buchanan. It is the interest of the democratic leaders to keep up the agitation of slavery ; in this they live, move, and have their being ; and James Buchanan is pledged to keep all its elements in full blast, to perpetuate the power of the democratic dynasty.

And who is it now, Americans, who can arrest the dangerous evils that democratic misrule has brought upon the land ? We answer, there is but one man now before the people who can restore us to the peace, prosperity, and progress, which were

given the country by the Compromise of 1850 ; and that man is Millard Fillmore. Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, United States senator from Illinois, is very good democratic authority ; and we give you an extract from his speech made in Richmond in 1852, and published in the Richmond *Examiner*, an influential democratic paper of that state. Mr. Douglas was denouncing the Baltimore convention for not nominating Mr. Fillmore at that time, and said, “ We say — ay, all of us — that Mr. Fillmore was a real God-send ; that he was sent by his Creator, that he was sent by God himself, to rule over the destinies of this country, when the ship of state was sinking in the tempest. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) It was the calming of the waters when the ship was sinking in the tempest. All, therefore, look kindly on Mr. Fillmore ; and we like to give him all the consolation we can, after the bad treatment he received at Baltimore, because he was a whig, and yet did no harm to the country.”

No, Americans, the most violent political opponent cannot and dare not assume that Millard Fillmore did not advance the welfare of his country as a whole, and protect all its interests everywhere

Another fact, not to be omitted at this crisis, is, that the democratic party were the first to oppose the introduction of *foreigners* into the national councils, as well as Roman Catholics, though they have since courted these influences, and denounced the American party for insisting that none but Americans shall rule America. In the celebrated Virginia democratic resolutions of '98 and '99 are these :

“ That the General Assembly, nevertheless concurring in opinion with the Legislature of Massachusetts, that every constitutional barrier should be opposed to the introduction of foreign influence into our national councils,

“ *Resolved*, That the constitution should be so amended that no foreigner who shall not have acquired rights under the constitution and laws at the time of making this amendment shall therefore be eligible to the office of senator or representative in the Congress of the United States, nor to any office in the executive or judiciary departments.”

Now, while the American party has not any prejudice towards respectable foreigners, and makes no war upon them *as foreigners*, but, *as subjects of the Pope of Rome*, repudiates their *interference*

with our just political rights, the *democratic* party has opposed them *as such* ; and we all know that in the State of New Hampshire, a state devoted to the democracy, a Roman Catholic cannot, to this day, hold any civil office, because he is a Catholic. And yet these democratic leaders, who have made all the agitation, and bought and sold the papal vote like a hogshead of tobacco or a bale of cotton, to carry their own election and retain the power, put out the signal of disunion, and would have the people cheated into the belief that they alone can save it from dissolution !

Americans, seventy years ago, the greatest work of mankind was completed, when our fathers embodied into an organic form the free covenant which gave to this nation its life, liberty, and happiness. This formation of the government takes rank in importance above the Revolution, and above the Declaration of Independence. You ask why? We answer, that while the Declaration of Independence cost the very extreme of sacrifice and the essence of patriotism, the labor to maintain our liberties would have been lost, after being won, had not the American Union been the result. And the great error now being committed by the people is

in putting the Declaration in the place of the Constitution, and looking to it as the instrument which governs them.

But one fact must be kept alive, — that no one man could have been the author of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Livingston, Lee, Hancock, &c., all differed; and it was these shades of opinion, delicately balanced, which made the Declaration, as it subsequently did the Constitution. And now, my countrymen, has one portion of these states been more benefited by the Union than the other? In other words, has the North or the South been gainers by the national compact? Take the increase of territory, and look at the question in this sense.

In 1803, Louisiana was bought for upwards of twenty-three millions of dollars, in order to control the commerce of the Mississippi valley, which has resulted in a benefit since that time to the free states and territories contiguous of not less, certainly, than a thousand millions of dollars! Iowa, Minesota, the Nebraska territory, with a certainty of Kansas and the rich prairies south of it, have all inured to the Northern States by that Louisiana purchase. The public lands, also, that have been

and yet remain to be sold, and the grants to Northern railroads, will surely equal two millions more in money, which goes at once to the North ; and makes the result of the Louisiana increase beneficial to that section of the Union upwards of eleven hundred millions of dollars.

Then, again, look at Texas. Its annexation cost the country, by the Mexican war, upwards of two hundred and seventeen millions ; by Texas claims, sixteen millions ; by the Gadsden Treaty, ten millions ; making the cost for the acquisition of Texas to the Union two hundred and thirty-three millions. By this the North acquired California, and a specie dividend which has amounted since 1848 to three hundred and fifty millions of gold ! In addition to the gain in gold, this section of the Union has obtained by the Texas annexation a command over the trade of the Pacific.

The increase of territory has therefore benefited the whole Union, and facilitated its enterprise, resources, and industry ; and California gave an impetus to the trade of the whole country, which could not have been felt otherwise in two hundred years.

My countrymen, the American Union has God

for its author, and the welfare of the whole people for its basis — the welfare of men, the welfare of the states. Then, in all the majesty of American citizens, let the people stand to their rights, instead of trembling for their bread. The American Revolution had one Arnold, but the name of traitor, in this present revolution, is “legion.” They hate the doctrine of Washington, which is dear to the people, because it teaches that only “Americans shall rule America ;” the same doctrine which made Charlemagne dear to Frenchmen, Robert Bruce to Scotchmen, Alfred the Great to Englishmen ! To intensify the love for the Union of these States, and make “dissolving views” of disunionists, is now the aim of the American party. Other evils may exist singly, and impose but one burden, but the destruction of this Union would subvert the interests of every state. It would change wisdom for folly, religion for sin, propagandism for patriotism, light for darkness. It would stop trade, commerce, and the development of our best agricultural resources. It would put an end to our unrivalled systems of education, and the utility of our inventions. It would arrest the increase of our newspaper issues,

and the increase of population. In a word, it would take away the key to all our knowledge, and shut against us the very gates of heaven. Humanity demands that this Union be preserved; equality of rights demands it; the religion of Jesus Christ demands it; and, glory to God, the Ruler of the world controls it!

No pen can expose the benefits, or portray the affliction, which would jeopardize trade, interest, labor, life! And now, when the Union itself is a candidate for popular suffrage, can any other than an American feeling sweep the land? The constitution comes from the people; the majesty of sovereignty is in them. Who are the people? They are the sons of the soil, and their industry made us free! Our farmers, manufacturers, mechanics, laborers, artisans, are the true constituency, and they insist that the right of the American working-man and mechanic can only be secured from foreign competition by maintaining the Union in all its integrity. In the abuse of the ballot-box the American laborer has been cast aside for the outcasts of Europe, until foreign interests, foreign laws, foreign regiments, and foreign lan-

guages, have made the nation totter, by robbing the Union of its pristine strength.

My countrymen, do you not remember that Rome's name, once a dread to despots, was made a reproach by the very act we are now committing? She gave to conquered races the right to citizenship, and this destroyed her. And the Italian republics of the middle ages were invaded and enslaved by the Guelphs, Ghibelines, Germans, Swiss, Austrians, and French, who broke up the union of those little confederacies, simply because they neglected to guard the nationality of their own people. Athens and Lacedemon, for the same reason, fomented disunion, and prepared the way for Philip of Macedon, a northern conqueror, who accomplished their destruction.

Even the Pope of Rome teaches this national principle to his own subjects; and who but an Italian could succeed his holiness? And, we say, let France be governed by Frenchmen, Ireland by Irishmen, Germany by Germans, and America by Americans, if this Union of ours is to remain. Like the telegraph, the Union keeps no local office, has no visible link between the states, but is the electric medium which circulates through all their

exchanges, meets all extremes and centralizes them, and is the ever-present source of the closest political intimacy.

Americans, can anything dissolve this bright and sparkling cluster of stars, which make one shining jewel, upon which the Union's image is alone reflected? Politicians may attempt it; crazy fanatics may rail at it; European emissaries may toil for it, and send money to the native traitors to facilitate it; but we believe that beneath the present agitation and strife, Providence conceals a future blessing to this Union, and that is its peace and permanent endurance.

When the Mexican war was declared, there was a majority of the people of this country who believed it aggressive and unjust. The election of 1844 had turned, in a great measure, upon the question of annexing Texas; James K. Polk, the democratic nominee, favoring it, while Henry Clay, the whig candidate, opposed it. That election, discarding the foreign vote, was most unquestionably a triumph to Mr. Clay, and a significant sign of opposition to Texas annexation. But, what effect had that freedom of opinion upon the war? Why Americans, you all know, it was no

sooner declared than citizens of all parts of the Union rushed to be enrolled and press into battle. In six weeks two hundred thousand were ready to take up arms. In three months two hundred thousand more were enlisted; and, had it been necessary to vindicate our nationality and preserve the Union, a million of men would readily have gone to the fight. And can any sane mind believe that now, when the internal foes of the Union and the constitution have declared war against them, to be fought in a single day at the *ballot-box*, that the love for them will be less intensely exhibited? Who can doubt that the mere suspicion of treason to this government will merge all sectional questions, and occupy with one thought this whole people, who will march to the music of the Union, and sweep out the offenders and the offence?

In the late European war in the Crimea, it was difficult for the allies to keep forty thousand men at any one time upon duty. Why? Because these troops did not move by patriotic emotions, or a cultivated national feeling. Many of them had never held a rifle before, and would miss aim in a hundred successive shots. Americans, on the contrary, are mostly target-shooters, and rarely waste

ball and powder. As they are in war, so they are in peace ; ready to sacrifice all for the glorious privileges secured to them by the free institutions under which they live. By all, then, my countrymen, that is dear to the patriotism of your country, by all that is dear to the glory and transcendent magnitude of its peace and rising prosperity, by all that is dear to your domestic firesides, to your loved homes, and to all that can give value to the landing of the Pilgrims, to the illustrious memory of their deeds, the achievement of the revolutionary battle-fields, the bright galaxy of your heroes and the pride of country, avoid, by some conciliation, the dangers that now surround us, and let not the world point with scorn, and despots laugh in triumph over our crushed and ruined liberties.

My countrymen, the love borne to the Union by the majorities of the people, with their vital interests indissolubly bound up in it, repels the idea that they ever will dissolve it while the simple remedy of the ballot-box remains in their hands. They cannot but see the inevitable fate of all the smaller states of the Union, North, Middle, and South. Never again would they have an equality with the larger states. Never again would they

stand as they now do in the Senate. Rhode Island, Delaware, Connecticut, Florida, and the like, would suffer absorption and annihilation. Texas would be destroyed by the Indians on the banks of the Rio Grande. Every Southern state would need all the militia within its own borders to defend itself, and could not fly to the succor of its sister states. If the small states sought foreign aid against the aggression of the larger, that foreign power would afterwards claim them as its vassals.

There are now five of these small states, which are just as strongly represented in the United States Senate as the five largest ones in the Union. New York has no more voice there than Rhode Island, Virginia than Florida. Hence, nearly one sixth of the power of the general government, and the treaty-making authority, is now in the smaller states. But, if ever separation comes, remember no revolution will ever make the Union again what it is now. Our civil and religious blessings, our growth, our resources, the development of our wealth, are gone, and the small states lost forever.

The neglect of the Bible is, in our judgment, the prominent reason for our past evils and present peril. Can anything be more ominous of destruc-

tion to a people, than neglect of moral culture, and contempt of the principles of virtue and Christianity? What other bulwarks can avail to save our Union? The principles of the Bible, where its spirit imbues the heart, and is acted out in the life, will save us from disunion. Without it, the charm of liberty and the Union is lost. Men are ripe for treason, stratagem, and war. We may make music for a thousand ages, but it will not be that of the song and the shouts of victory of Deborah, when the chariots and the horsemen of Pharaoh were overthrown.

Fillmore's election will give support to private integrity, as well as national credit and honor, and save the reduction of property, products, and commerce. He will be to the whole people as a strong metallic currency was to England in her bloody war with France — the strong confidence by which she humbled the states of Europe, swept the seas with her navy, and sent Napoleon to St. Helena.

Now, what would be the result of rejecting Millard Fillmore, whom a kind Providence has allowed you the privilege to elect, if you would save your country? It is no fancy sketch to tell you these

plain truths. There would be a distress, deep and universal, in this country, never felt before. The banks would be drained of their gold, because their credit would fail; trade would be crippled, and merchants would cease to be able to procure credit at long dates, and therefore obliged to suspend. Manufacturers would not be able to sell their goods, or raise money on them. American industry would then be checked at once. The national debt would be doubled. The taxes upon the people would be increased ten-fold. The credit of the nation would be so reduced that the navy and army would be compelled to disband. There would be such distrust among all the industrial walks of the people, that no one could command a barrel of flour, or a bag of coffee, unless the money accompanied the order. The whole country would be in gloom, and the honest yeomen of the land would smite their breasts and cry aloud, "We are deceived, we are destroyed!" Everything within and without threatens destruction, if Fillmore is now cast aside. The nation's faith and the nation's honor should demand this pledge to be made, and the world reassured that the experiment of self-government has not

failed — that America's fortress is still armed and manned by freemen.

Now, let us look rationally at the matter, and ask to what amounts the folly of pretending to advocate, at this crisis, the *restoration* of the Missouri Compromise. It plainly means nothing at all, but to keep up a practised art of deceiving honest minds. The day for this has passed; and it is as pertinent to say the repeal of the Missouri Compromise might have been avoided by defeating Franklin Pierce's election to the presidency in 1852, or that some dead man might have lived, if proper remedies had been seasonably used, as to say now that the Missouri Compromise can ever be restored, as it stood when Pierce and the democratic leaders laid upon it their sacrilegious hands. Some may ask, is this impossible? We answer, it is; for, while the South could voluntarily restore it, it is not to be supposed it would, and thereby pass condemnation on its own acts.

My countrymen, it is high time to awake from this delusion, and cast aside this phantom which is being embodied into pretended substance, and made an issue in the pending presidential election, when, in truth, the restoration of the compromise

has no more to do with the election of President than it has with the coronation of Alexander of Russia, or the baptism of the heir of Louis Napoleon of France. And why? We answer, Because the question of restoring the compromise will never be made one for any future President to consider in his official station.

There is no earthly prospect that Congress, which alone could reinstate what it created and has destroyed, would pass an act of this nature before Kansas was admitted into the Union as a state. We all know that, with the sectional agitation now existing, such a step would rend the Union at once into fragments. It is morally impossible, therefore, and folly even to entertain such an idea. And you also understand the meaning of your own constitution, and know equally well that Congress cannot, if it wished, lay the weight of a feather upon the institutions of a state of this Union. So, whether Kansas was a free or a slave state, — and God forbid it should be the latter! — the Missouri Compromise would not and could not be restored. Then, if it is true — and every man and woman in the land knows it — that Kansas will soon be a free state, asking admission into the sisterhood of the

Union, it will require more art, we believe, than all the political demagogues of the country contain, to persuade the American people that the election of the President has anything to do with restoring the Missouri Compromise. And it needs high pressure now to be put upon the public virtue of the country, to awaken it to the true sight of its designing foes; that the people may at once see that the Union's strength is alone in its devotion to *constitutional liberty*, and on this *alone* it must stand or fall. The Convention which made the Constitution in 1787, sent out a letter to all the people, giving them to understand the spirit of compromise upon which it was adjusted, and which the States, to maintain it, must preserve. George Washington signed that letter, and we give its language, as pertinent to our present emergency.

“Individuals,” said the Convention, “entering into society, must give up *a share* of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstances as on the object to be attained. In all our deliberations on this subject, the object which the Convention has kept steadily in view, was the *consolidation of the Union, in which is involved our*

prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected.”

NOTE FOR PAGE 50.

The full returns to the 1st of October, 1856, will show that *our commercial marine exceeds that of Great Britain one million of tons* ; and, if our national progress and prosperity continue in the next three years at the same rate, we have no reason to doubt that in 1860 our commercial marine will exceed that of Great Britain and France combined.

CHAPTER III.

ON the 4th of March, 1857, the present Congress closes its power. The next Congress will begin its session the following December. Before that time, Kansas will either be in the Union, or at the door of Congress for admission. Now, with a large democratic majority from the South in the House, and a democratic majority also in the Senate, is it not an insult to the intelligence of the people to talk of doing anything with the compromise the next session, while the Senate will still hold its democratic majority in the succeeding Congress, thereby putting the compromise restoration at an end forever ! Its repeal, in the language of Millard Fillmore, "was the Pandora's box, out of which have issued all our present evils." The whole country had for thirty years acquiesced in the compromises of the constitution as sacred ; and the intelligence, justice, and honor, of the people of the South, were opposed to its repeal just as much

as were the people of the North. It was the act of the democratic party — we mean its treacherous leaders, in league with Pierce, whom they used as the instrument to accomplish their long-predetermined scheme to foster agitation, and perpetuate their own power. Franklin Pierce was the man for their ends; hence the occasion to appropriate him was eagerly embraced. O, my countrymen, be conjured to rise in the majesty of your own intelligence! Search into these matters, and see for yourselves that the Missouri Compromise is dead, and cannot be restored; that with it the President you elect will never have anything officially to do; that it is not *truthfully* any more an issue before the people than the “embargo” which was passed under Mr. Jefferson’s administration, or the alien and sedition laws under that of John Adams.

Never before was so false an issue made as is now thrust before the people upon the Kansas question; as though the majorities of the South did not as fully as the North condemn the leaders of the democratic party and its President for allowing American blood to be shed on American soil by American men. These leaders have incited those

bloody deeds in that territory, rather than interposed the government and laws to arrest the civil war, and bring the offenders to punishment. Why, then, should fifteen states of this Union be sentenced to the vindictive curses of sixteen others? In commerce and trade, in the struggle for a national existence, in all the revolutionary battles, and the subsequent association since our independence, the interests of all these states have been identified. The fifteen states of the South do not support now a candidate for their own section, but for the whole thirty-one states. And, in proof of this, a majority of these states will cast their vote for Millard Fillmore, a native citizen, and resident of the great State of New York. My countrymen, it is treason to the Union to support any candidate on account of this sectional feeling. It is madness on the part of the people, and will be the dying out of all our national fame.

It will be death to the great commercial metropolis of the country, which has been built up by the common trade of the North and South. This commerce, which has, in this present year, 1856, swelled to the enormous aggregated amount of four billions five hundred millions, was the origin of our present

constitutional government. The cities of New York, Boston, and others, refused to treat with men longer under the unstable articles of the old confederacy of states ; and this desire to give security to the trade of the North and South led to the convention of 1787, which gave us the most glorious system of free government which has ever blessed mankind.

But then, Americans, that commerce was confined to a few privateers. The effects of the Revolutionary War were all around us. Now we have the greatest commercial tonnage of any nation on earth, and soon will have more, if we continue as we are, than all the rest together. See, only last year, 1855, while Great Britain had five millions, the United States had five millions two hundred thousand, and the rest of the world together had the exact amount of Great Britain ; and while, in the last thirty years, the commercial marine has increased in Great Britain twenty-eight per cent., it has increased in the United States fifty-eight per cent. in the same period. (See note on page 46.)

Americans, it is your country, and New York its great emporium, which has outsailed and outnumbered the commercial marine of the whole globe ;

and now owes the greatness of her trade to the Union of all the states. And who, that knows the intelligence of her people, believes for a moment that a city maintaining upwards of eighty-five thousand qualified voters could ever give its vote to a sectional issue between these states? Who believes the merchant, the banker, the ship-owner, the property-holder, the men of the workshop, the master mechanic, and builder, of New York, Boston, and other cities, will surrender the opportunity, when presented in the presidential election, to vindicate the Union of these states? Will the young men, who have all to hope in the rising greatness of their country, hesitate?—will they who look to New York as the national trading and commercial metropolis, and whose ambition would make them run to the music of the Union?

It is the Union as it is, the preservation of the rights of the North and the South, that now calls on the merchants and property-holders of the Empire City of the Union to look to its future name. In New York city, we find, by the comptroller's report in 1856, there is five hundred and thirteen millions of individual wealth; the city corporations also holding forty-two millions of real property, and a

banking and insurance capital of seventy millions. New York city, then, has a capital involved in the welfare of this Union of six hundred and thirty millions of dollars, with a population of six hundred and thirty thousand.

Americans, what unequalled prosperity is here presented! — a city averaging a thousand dollars per capita! And how comes all this? Why, plainly from the concentration of all the trade and commerce of the thirty-one states of this federal Union. Now, let the business men of the country, the property-owners, young men of all trades, the mechanics, say what would result to New York city alone by the separation of fifteen states of the Union from the other sixteen. Let them tell what would result to the *cotton* trade, raised exclusively at the South, but exchanged *exclusively* at the North. In the year 1855, this crop placed to Northern credit alone one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars; beside more than half a million of cotton-bales were manufactured last year at the North, making another hundred millions to the cotton exchanges that season. And what, too, but Northern ships and Northern men were employed in transporting these three thousand five hundred cotton-bales to be

manufactured at the North? Americans, who can believe that the practical men of the nation, the manufacturers of New England, are not above deception upon the vital question of their own interests, as well as the mechanics and property-holders of New York? Certainly not less than two hundred millions of dollars passed into the hands of carriers, factors, and bankers, in the year 1855; and is it not best to trust the liberties and institutions of your country again to a man who has filled the presidential chair with so much benefit to *every* interest, that every party endorsed him? Is it not best to take the man who endorsed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, when he signed the compromises of 1850, which made Kansas a free state? We say, is it not wise to secure the man whose devotion to the Union of the states has been demonstrated by his acts, while Providence offers us the privilege to place our country once more at peace?

The election of Millard Fillmore would put an end to Kansas fighting in a single day. If needful, he would march the entire army of the United States to that scene of blood, with the gallant Scott at its head. He would allow the actual settlers of that territory to settle its government for them-

selves ; and, by exerting the influence of the government for the safety of that people, all strife would cease, and a full sweep be given to the energy and enterprise of settlers in all their free pursuits.

Americans, with Fillmore at the helm of state, no more legislation, no more interference from any source, is needed to terminate civil war, and give freedom and peace to Kansas, and lift the pall of human wrong from this rising country ; so that Anglo-Saxon blood may go on to populate, civilize, enrich, and aggrandize the heritage which God has opened for the welfare of our own people, and the good of the human race.

It is time to end a censorship which the sixteen Northern states and the fifteen Southern states are each attempting, through *fanatical* spirits, to exert over the other. It is more baneful to our liberties than that now existing in France, Austria, Russia, or Italy. It is more odious to freemen than the Council of Ten in ancient Venice. We must not forget that conciliation has ever been the bond of this Union, and that it has saved more than once our streets from growing with grass, our rivers from being red with blood, and thousands now in man-

hood from untimely graves. Let us not forget how the Missouri difficulty in 1820 was settled; how the tariff question, under General Jackson's administration, was adjusted; how the compromise of 1850 made the North and the South sing aloud with joy! It was a *national arrangement, to which all sections at once consented*, and on which all parties harmonized, when a Northern man, with Northern sentiments, who had steadily stood to Northern principles, became a *national man*, and proved true to the constitution and the Union of all the thirty-one states, and signed that law!

Now, when the interests of the country are all affected, and real estate depreciating in value every day, is it not time to box up every other interest, as our fathers did in the American Revolution? Leave the workshop, the counting-house, the agricultural implements lying in the fields of your country, and prepare for the contest for the PRINCIPLES of your government which is to be fought in November without cannon or bayonet. My countrymen, a thousand millions of money could not pay for the ill effects which may result from the *defeat* of Millard Fillmore at this crisis of our history; while his election will be the *certain insur-*

ance upon your commerce, finance, trade, your shipping, inventions, discoveries, educational blessings, your Protestant liberty, and your unbroken union and national renown.

In the light of all these reflections and causes of danger to our safety, and the fear of splitting on the rock of disunion, let us, my countrymen, take warning from the history of all the republics of the past. Where are the communities which have been exalted by prosperity, arts, commerce, and military might? Where are the treasures of Nineveh, the walls of Babylon, the sceptres of the Cæsars? A thousand warnings come across the ocean from the monarchies and republics of the Old World:—Athens, Thebes, Rome, and Byzantium; the flourishing states of Holland, of Geneva, of Venice, — of which nothing is left but the living monument of history. This republic has risen, as it were, from the despotism and ashes of the Old World; and wonderful is our story, mighty our prowess, our progress, our elevation, and we have been saved thus far. For this let us send forth pæans of united praise, and give glory to the Author of our being, and of our national preservation!

And now, we ask, who will not join in prolong-

ing this Union? Who will prove recreant here? Speak, ye patriots, ye sons of the soil, East and West, North and South! Who is able to probe the depth of this subject? It swells the heart with emotions too big for utterance. The Union of the States! What a theme! — a theme which surpasses in importance and magnificence the highest powers of our imagination to conceive, or our pen to portray. How feebly have we spoken! Come, assemble, ye American men! Let your glowing eloquence fill with rapture the listening throng, as you arouse with patriotism, and startle with magic logic, the sons of your soil to the greatness and sublimity of their patrimony! Come, ye proudest of historians, — Bancroft, Hume, and Hilliard, — and reveal the majesty of Plymouth Rock, of Bunker Hill, of Yorktown; the rising enterprise, genius, glory, and boundless prospects of this New World, in the indissoluble charm of this Union! Come, ye muses, — Apollo, Calliope, Calypso, — and celebrate, in strains as sweet as the harp of David, or an angel's lyre, the ineffable grandeur and loveliness of this western empire, in one unbroken unity of brilliant stars!

Come, assemble, ye patriots, natives of this soil,

ye who best know how to feel the inspiration which calls you to defend it, if invaded, with millions of bayonets, or to repose, when in peace and prosperity, under the shadow of its outspread and majestic wings ! Come, weigh, ponder, stand on Capitol Hill and survey the whole horizon in the immense field of your vision, and see if you can estimate its value, or reach in debate the height and dignity of this immortal theme !

Then, in this view, to change the tenor of our remarks, what shall we say of the traitor who dares to stand forth, and, with polluted and murderous hands, with the associates of Catiline at his back, to strike a fatal blow at this Union, and to pull down its pillars ? Erostratus fired the temple of Ephesus, and then disappeared by the light of the blaze. So will those, South and North, who are piling up fagots to set this Union in a glittering flame, cease their madness, and be swept to the insignificance from whence they were taken, while the Union, on the proud pillars of the constitution, will be found standing as on a rock of adamant !

EXPLANATION OF MR. FILLMORE'S
ALBANY SPEECH.

MAYOR PERRY'S ADDRESS.

“MR. FILLMORE: Words cannot express the emotions of our hearts to-day, as we receive you back, the distinguished and honored son of this great state; one who has worthily possessed the highest testimonial which a free people can offer to patriotism and exalted worth, and who is now, by the voluntary action of that people, again selected as their first choice to preside over the destinies of this great republic. The waters of the vast Atlantic could not wash you from our remembrance; and while separated from us by time and by distance, you have lived, sir, as you must ever live, in our warmest remembrance. During your absence, it has been at once the pride and the pleasure of the American people to present your name again as their choice for the high and glorious position of President of these United States, knowing that you sought not office for office's sake. Knowing that no mean ambition could tempt you from the path of duty, yet fearing that your disposition might incline you to retreat from the cares of public into

the pleasures of private life, we have stood in anxious suspense, until we have received the welcome announcement of your acceptance of that honor which it is our wish and design to confer upon you. And if anything could add to the pride and pleasure with which we now welcome you, it is a knowledge of the fact, '*that if there be those, either North or South, who desire an administration for the North as against the South, or for the South as against the North, they are not the men who should give their suffrages to you.*' And, sir, we glory in the patriotic announcement, that you, as the chief magistrate of our united and beloved land, will '*know only your country, your whole country, and nothing but your country.*' It is such a statement as this which will restore peace to our agitated land; will allay the angry passions excited by bad and designing men; will roll back the dark and portentous cloud which threatens to arise, and will stay the further progress of fraternal discord and angry strife. Sir, we welcome you, as a man, with warm hearts, because we love you; but, chiefly, and more than all, we welcome you, because of the proof we derive, both from your past and present course, that the same pure spirit

of patriotism you have ever manifested will continue to influence you in the future; and that thus 'our beloved country, our whole country, and nothing but our country,' may be preserved from the dangers which threaten it, and may be transmitted with renewed glory, and unimpaired by any act of ours, to remotest posterity.

“ Mr. Fillmore: In the name of the citizens of Albany, and on their behalf, I am proud to bid you a most hearty welcome.”

Mr. Fillmore, in response, said:

“ We see a political party presenting candidates for the presidency and vice presidency, selected for the first time from the free states alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow in case of success? (Cheers.) Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate? (Cheers.) Would he be required to follow the

same rule prescribed by those who elected him in making his appointments? If a man living south of Mason and Dixon's line be not worthy to be president or vice president, would it be proper to select one from the same quarter as one of his cabinet counsel, or to represent the nation in a foreign country? or, indeed, to collect the revenue or administer the laws of the United States? If not, what new rule is the president to adopt in selecting men for office, that the people themselves discard in selecting him? These are serious but practical questions; and in order to appreciate them fully, it is only necessary to turn the tables upon ourselves. Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for president and vice president, and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North. Do you think we would submit to it? No, not for a moment! (Applause.) And do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less zealous of their rights? (Tremendous cheering.) If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken. And, therefore, you must see that if this sectional party

succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers, cemented by their blood, and bequeathed to us as a priceless inheritance.”

Here we discover the true spirit of submission to the popular will, and devotion to the entire Union, as it exists under our national constitution. *He does not say* that the election of the nominee of the republican party would not and ought not to be submitted to by the South. But that, if the *principle* was carried out, of *excluding every Southern man from participation in government by that party, and the cabinet offices, foreign appointments, judges of the courts, and administrative offices of the government, were placed wholly in the hands of the North, that the South ought no more to submit, than would he and his Northern friends submit, if the South, as the South, should attempt to control and act for the whole country.*

Americans, this speech was not made to the *South*, but was delivered at Albany, the head-quarters of sectionalism, and addressed to *Northern men*, warning them of probable danger, and depicting its consequences. Mr Fillmore, true to the spirit of

Washington's "Farewell Address," "indignantly frowned upon *the first dawning of the attempt to alienate one portion of our country from the rest*;" while he declares to all the world that *he himself will stand to the Union, no matter which of the presidential candidates shall be elected by the free suffrages of the American people.*

"Will not submit" were very harmless words when used years ago by Gen. Washington, and, later still, by Henry Clay. When it was proposed by Congress, in the Revolutionary struggle, to *elevate foreigners* in the American army, Gen. Washington objected, and said, "American officers would not submit to it;" and when Hon. Edward Everett, in whom every American has infinite cause for pride, was nominated to the United States Senate as Minister to England, there were certain Southern members who objected; when Mr. Clay, perceiving this sectional feeling, arose in his place, and rebuked it, remarking that such a manifestation of *sectionalism* would not be tolerated, — that "the *North* would not submit."

Here the language in both cases was identical with that employed on the recent occasion by Mr. Fillmore at Albany; yet it was then deemed very harmless, and excited no prejudiced remark in any quarter. What now constitutes the crime of the same expression by Mr. Fillmore, whose whole character and conduct exhibit patriotism and devotion to the Union worthy in all respects of his distinguished predecessors? Why, simply that he stands in the way of those whose interest it is to *misrepresent* and calumniate him.

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